

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
ICA-11 SAA-01 EA-10 ACDA-12 IO-13 OMB-01 HA-05
AID-05 EB-08 /131 W
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R 130538Z SEP 78
FM AMEMBASSY KABUL
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9973
INFO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSYLONDON
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 KABUL 7328

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEPR, EAID, PGOV, AF, US
SUBJ: AFGHANISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY POSTURE

1. SUMMARY: IN MY MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER HAFIZULLAH AMIN ON SEPT 12, I MADE THE PERSONAL OBSERVATION THAT I THOUGHT THERE WAS A WIDE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN AFGHANISTAN'S NEED FOR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND THE FOREIGN POLICY POSITIONS TAKEN BY AMIN AND CHAIRMAN TARAKI IN SOME OF THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENTS. IT APPEARED TO ME THAT SOME FREE-WORLD DONORS COULD TAKE OFFENSE AT THE THRUST OF AFGHAN FOREIGN POLICY, LEADING THEM TO CONCLUDE THAT EXTENSIVE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FOR AFGHANISTAN DID NOT MAKE SENSE IN LIGHT OF THE ABSENCE OF ANY SENSITIVITY BY THE DRA TO THE INTERESTS OF THESE DONORS. AMIN, WHILE REITERATING THAT THE DRA WAS IN NEED OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE, MADE IT CLEAR HE IS VERY SYMPATHETIC TO THE FOREIGN POLICY CONDUCTED BY THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER MEMBERS OF THE SOCIALIST CAMP, AND THAT HE ASSUMES THAT OTHER DONORS WILL APPRECIATE THAT THE DRA IS TAKING "PRINCIPLED" POSITIONS, EVEN THOUGH SOME MAY BE OFFENDED.

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END SUMMARY

2. IN A RATHER WIDE-RANGING DISCUSSION WITH FOREIGN MINISTER AMIN ON SEPT 12, I THOUGHT IT MIGHT BE APPROPRIATE TO MAKE SOME PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS ABOUT THE DRA'S INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLICIES. I SAID IT APPEARED TO ME THAT THE DRA WAS IN DESPERATE NEED OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE TO ENHANCE

THE PROSPECTS FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROGRESS IN AFGHANISTAN. AT THE SAME TIME, FOREIGN POLICY PRONOUNCEMENTS BY AMIN AND CHAIRMAN TARAKI REFLECTED A STRONG PRO-SOVIET TILT, AND THE ASSUMPTION OF POSITIONS WHICH COULD BE OFFENSIVE TO A NUMBER OF COUNTRIES WHICH WERE ASSISTING AFGHANISTAN ECONOMICALLY AND TECHNICALLY.

3. AS FAR AS THE U.S. WAS CONCERNED, FOR EXAMPLE, I HAD NOTED THAT AMIN HAD CALLED FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN TROOPS FROM KOREA. ON WHOSE TERMS, I ASKED, WOULD SUCH A WITHDRAWAL TAKE PLACE? THE DRA MUST BE AWARE THAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAS PROPOSED AND IS CARRYING OUT A MEASURED WITHDRAWAL OF U.S. FORCES. MOREOVER, U.S. FORCES ARE PRESENT IN SOUTH KOREA AT THE REQUEST OF THAT GOVERNMENT. SECONDLY, WE NOTED AMIN'S CALL FOR THE ELIMINATION OF THE U.S. FACILITY ON DIEGO GARCIA. THIS STATEMENT WAS NOT ACCOMPANIED BY ANY REFERENCE TO THE EXPANDED SOVIET NAVAL PRESENCE IN THE INDIAN OCEAN OR THE SOVIET UNION'S USE OF FACILITIES IN A PLACE SUCH AS ADEN. THIRDLY, THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE OF AN APPRECIATION OF THE U.S. POSITION ON PUERTO RICO. AS ANOTHER EXAMPLE, I CITED AMIN'S INTERVIEW WITH PETER WALD, CORRESPONDENT OF "THE VOICE OF GERMANY" OF THE FRG, IN WHICH AMIN COMMENTED, "WE BELIEVE EVERY ASSISTANCE RENDERED TO THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES BY THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES, LED BY THE SOVIET UNION, HAS A HUMANITARIAN CHARACTER. SOCIALIST COUNTRIES CANNOT BE HELD RESPONSIBLE FOR EXPLOITATION AND AGGRESSION AGAINST OTHERS." I TOLD AMIN THAT I READ ON EAGERLY TO SEE SOME
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COMMENT ABOUT ASSISTANCE PROVIDED BY THE U.S. AND OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES, BUT TO NO AVAIL. HOW WAS I TO UNDERSTAND THIS LACK OF REFERENCE TO ASSISTANCE FROM THE LATTER GROUP?

4. IN CONNECTION WITH THE KOREAN QUESTION, AMIN SIMPLY SAID THIS WAS A CONSISTENT POSITION SINCE AFGHANISTAN IS FOR THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES, INCLUDING NOT ONLY KOREA, BUT A PLACE SUCH AS CYPRUS. REGARDING DIEGO GARCIA, HE REPEATED TWO OR THREE TIMES THAT THE U.S. WAS NOT SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED. (I INTERJECTED TO COMMENT THAT THERE COULD BE NO QUESTION AS TO WHOM HE WAS ALLUDING.) HE CONTINUED THAT HE WAS NOT AWARE THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD ANY FACILITIES IN ADEN COMPARABLE TO OURS IN DIEGO GARCIA. IN ANY EVENT, HE COMMENTED THAT THE SOVIET UNION WAS IN SOUTH YEMEN AT THE REQUEST OF THAT GOVT.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 KABUL 7328

5. IN RESPONSE TO MY REFERENCE TO "HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE", HE DIGRESSED TO MAKE SOME RATHER INTERESTING COMMENTS. HE SAID THREE MAIN FORCES WERE AT WORK IN THE PRESENT-DAY WORLD. THESE FORCES WERE REPRESENTED BY THE SOVIALIST COUNTRIES, NATIONAL IBERATION MOVEMENTS, AND THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES. HE SAID HE FELT VERY DEEPLY THAT ALL ASSISTANCE PROVIDED BY THE SOVIET UNION TO COUNTRIES, SUCH AS ANGOLA AND ETHIOPIA, WAS DESIGNED TO SUPPORT THE INDEPENDENCE OF THOSE COUNTRIES. ASSISTANCE TO NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS, SUCH AS THOSE CONNECTED WITH RHODESIA, WAS DESIGNED BY THE SOVIET UNION TO SUPPORT THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION. AMIN RECOILED A BIT WHEN I ASKED WHETHER HE VIEWED THE INVASION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA AS A HUMANITARIAN GESTURE. IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD SUPPOSESSED THE MOVEMENT TO PUT A SO-CALLED HUMAN FACE ON SOCIALISM. AMIN SIMPLY REPLIED, ONCE AGAIN, THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAD GONE INTO CZECHOSLOVAKIA AT THE REQUEST OF THAT COUNTRY.

6. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH I BELIEVE AMIN FULLY UNDERSTOOD THE BASIC
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POINTS I WAS MAKING, HE GAVE NO INDICATION THAT HE SAW ANY NEED AT THIS TIME FOR THE DRA TO TAKE A MORE BALANCED AND OBJECTIVE POSTURE TOWARD WORLD DEVELOPMENTS. HIS VIEW IS ONE SEEN THROUGH MARXIST-LENINIST SPECTACLES, AND I WOULD GUESS THAT LITTLE, IF ANY, CHANGE WILL BE FORTHCOMING IN THE DRA'S FOREIGN POLICY POSTURE IN THE NEAR FUTURE. AT THE SAME TIME, AMIN SEEMS TO HAVE CONVINCED HIMSELF THAT OTHERS WILL UNDER-

STAND THAT THE DRA IS TAKING SO-CALLED "PRINCIPLED" POSITIONS
ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, AND THAT, IN THE LAST ANALYSIS,
WESTERN AND OTHER FREE-WORLD DONORS WILL NOT REACT BY THINKING
TWICE ABOUT THE EXTENT OF THEIR ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE.
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